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FROM: MOSCOW

TO: Secretary of State

NO: 1687, FEBRUARY 25, 6 PM

PRIORITY

SENT DEPARTMENT 1687, REPEATED INFORMATION LONDON 323, PARIS
295, BONN 214, BERLIN 121.

I FIND IT DIFFICULT TO JUDGE WHAT IS MANEUVER IN KHRUSHCHEV'S
SPEECH AND WHAT IS HIS GENUINE AND FIRMLY HELD POSITION.
FROM TOUGHNESS OF HIS SPEECH IT WOULD APPEAR THAT HE HAS
JUDGED MACMILLAN VISIT AND SUCH DEVELOPMENTS AS MANSFIELD
SPEECH AS SIGNS OF WEAKNESS AND HE IS EVIDENTLY CONVINCED
HE CAN EXPLOIT MACMILLAN VISIT TO HIS ADVANTAGE. THERE HAVE
BEEN MANY INDICATIONS THAT KHRUSHCHEV IS SO DETERMINED
UPON A SUMMIT MEETING THAT HE IS DELIBERATELY BUILDING UP
TENSION WITH A VIEW TO BRINGING THIS ABOUT. WHETHER AT SUCH
A MEETING, IF IT TOOK PLACE, HE WOULD BE WILLING TO MAKE
GENUINE EFFORT REACH REASONABLE SETTLEMENT IS CERTAINLY
OPEN TO QUESTION BUT I THINK IT IS QUITE CLEAR THAT HE WILL
NOT REVEAL HIS HAND ON ANY LOWER LEVEL. IN JUDGING HIS
SPEECH SUGGEST THE FOLLOWING CONSIDERATIONS SHOULD BE TAKEN
INTO ACCOUNT.

I BELIEVE KHRUSHCHEV IS GENUINELY CONVINCED FOREIGN
MINISTERS' MEETING WOULD NOT RESOLVE ANY MAJOR PROBLEMS
AND WOULD BE USED BY US TO PROBE SOVIET POSITION AND DRAG
OUT NEGOTIATIONS INTERMINABLY. I BELIEVE HE IS ALSO
CONVINCED THAT IF GERMANY REMAINS TIED TO WEST AND NO
AGREEMENT IS REACHED ON PROHIBITION ATOMIC TESTS IT WILL
EVENTUALLY OBTAIN ATOMIC WEAPONS AND BE IN POSITION TO
THREATEN SOVIET SATELLITES AND POSSIBLY INVOLVE US AND USSR
IN MILITARY CONFLICT. EVEN THOUGH THIS MAY BE TRUE OF WEST

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-2-, 1687, FEBRUARY 25, 6 PM, FROM MOSCOW

GERMANY ALONE HE BELIEVES HIS POSSESSION OF EAST GERMANY REDUCES THREAT AND PARTICULARLY THREAT TO INSTABILITY OF COMMUNIST REGIME IN POLAND. AS INDICATED BY MIKOYAN IN US AND BY KOSYGIN TO ME YESTERDAY, SOVIETS APPARENTLY BELIEVE THAT BY RAISING STANDARD OF LIVING IN EAST GERMANY THEY CAN CONSOLIDATE HOLD OF COMMUNIST REGIME THERE IN NEXT FEW YEARS PARTICULARLY IF BERLIN PROBLEM CAN SOMEHOW BE RESOLVED. AT ANY RATE HE DOUBTLESS CONSIDERS THAT REUNIFICATION AT LATER DATE WOULD BE LESS DAMAGING TO COMMUNIST BLOC THAN NOW, AS NOT ONLY WOULD THEY BE ABLE TO SHOW PROGRESS IN EAST GERMANY AND BUILD UP SUPPORT FOR COMMUNIST PARTY, BUT ALSO BY THAT TIME SOVIET BLOC WILL IN HIS OPINION HAVE FURTHER SUCCESSES AND BE BETTER ABLE TO ACCEPT A RETREAT IF THIS SHOULD BECOME NECESSARY. A FURTHER FACTOR IN KHRUSHCHEV'S THINKING IN MY OPINION IS THAT HE IS CONVINCED THAT NEITHER BRITISH, FRENCH NOR WEST GERMANS GENUINELY DESIRE GERMAN REUNIFICATION AND BASING HIMSELF ON THIS HE ASSUMES WEST WILL IN THE END ACCEPT CONTINUED DIVISION AND SETTLEMENT OF BERLIN QUESTION IN MANNER WHICH WILL CONSOLIDATE THIS DIVISION. IT WOULD ALSO APPEAR THAT HE HAS TAKEN OUR WILLINGNESS TO HAVE EAST GERMANS PRESENT IN FOREIGN MINISTERS' MEETING AS FURTHER INDICATION WE ARE PREPARED ACCEPT CONTINUED DIVISION. AS HE PUTS IT "IF YOU ACCEPT A YOU MUST ACCEPT B."

FRENCH AMBASSADOR INFORMS ME THAT IN CONVERSATION WITH HIM LAST NIGHT KHRUSHCHEV CONFIRMED MAIN POINTS HIS SPEECH BUT WITH THREE ADDITIONS. HE MENTIONED THAT POLES AND CZECHS SHOULD PARTICIPATE BUT WITHOUT "VOIX DELIBERATIVE". HE ALSO SAID THAT IF THEY DID NOT SUCCEED IN OBTAINING OUR AGREEMENT TO A PEACE TREATY THEY WOULD PROCEED TO CONCLUDE ONE WITH EAST GERMANY JUST AS WE HAD DONE WITH JAPAN. HE ALSO INDICATED THAT FOREIGN MINISTERS' MEETING COULD FOLLOW SUMMIT MEETING.

MACMILLAN'S CONVERSATIONS SHOULD THROW FURTHER LIGHT ON SOVIET TACTICS AND POLICIES BUT BEFORE SOVIETS HAVE MADE FORMAL REPLY TO OUR NOTE IT WOULD SEEM ADVISABLE THAT IF WE EXPRESS ANY REACTION IT SHOULD BE STRONG ONE AND IT WOULD BE PREFERABLE FOR IT TO COME FIRST FROM MACMILLAN RATHER THAN FROM US. FROM WHAT I HAVE HEARD HOWEVER THIS APPEARS UNLIKELY.

MJT/21

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THOMPSON

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